

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0839

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T VIENNA 9980

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: FRG PRESENTATION FOR DEC 11 PLENARY

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY RUSH FROM STANLEY RESOR

REF: A. VIENNA 9720 B. STATE 234876

1. FRG REP BEHRENDTS WILL DELIVER PRESENTATION ON
SECOND SEGMENT OF THE ALLIED OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS
IN THE PLENARY SCHEDULED FOR DEC 11. AS AGREED
BY AD HOC GROUP, BEHRENDTS WILL COMMENT ON THE TEXT
OF THE SECOND FIVE ELEMENTS OF THE ALLIED OUTLINE
OF PROPOSALS, INCLUDING US AND SOVIET REDUCTIONS,
FLANK INTERESTS, ASSOCIATED MEASURES, AND PROVISION
FOR A SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS. ON DEC 3, FRG CIRCULATED
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SUGGESTED OUTLINE FOR THIS PRESENTATION (TEST SEPTTEL) TO

THE AD HOC GROUP.

2. WITH REGARD TO THE ITEM ON PROVISION FOR A SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATION, THE FRG OUTLINE SUGGESTS THAT THE DEC 11 PRESENTATION CONTAIN THE FOLLOWING GENERAL POINTS:

A. THE ALLIES' INTEREST IN THE SECOND PHASE IS SERIOUS AS EVIDENCED BY THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT.

B. MOVEMENT TO THE AGREED COMMON CEILING SHOULD BE COMPLETED THROUGH A SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATION.

C. A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT SHOULD PROVIDE FOR CONTINUATION OF NEGOTIATIONS IN A SECOND PHASE.

D. "THE NATURE OF THAT LINK IS FOR NEGOTIATION IN THE CURRENT PHASE" OF NEGOTIATION.

3. OF THESE 4 POINTS, THE FIRST THREE ARE STANDARD AND HAVE BEEN CONTAINED IN PREVIOUS ALLIED PLENARY STATEMENTS, AS WELL AS IN THE ALLIED OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS. THE FOURTH POINT IS ALONG THE LINES OF THE FORMULATION CONTAINED IN POINT SIX, PARA 9 OF VIENNA 9720, WHICH WASHINGTON REQUESTED (STATE 234876) NOT BE ADVANCED UNTIL AFTER FURTHER STUDY WAS COMPLETED. WE ARE REPORTING IT FOR THAT REASON.

4. WE RECOMMEND THAT THE US NOT REPEAT NOT INTERPOSE OBJECTIONS TO THE USE OF THIS FORMULA IN THE ALLIED DEC 11 PLENARY PRESENTATIONS. IT IS AGREED ALLIED GOAL, SET FORTH IN PARAS 34 AND 35 OF THE AGREED NATO ALLIED POSITION PAPER, THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS SEEK "INCLUSION IN A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT OF LANGUAGE PROVIDING FOR A SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS". PARA 10 OF ALLIED OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS PRESENTED TO THE EAST ON NOV 22 STATES: THE FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT "SHOULD ALSO INCLUDE AGREEMENT ON CONTINUATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN A SECOND PHASE..."

5. THE PROPOSED FRG FORMULATION THUS SUPPORTS AND AGREED ALLIED GOAL WITHOUT REPRESENTING DEPARTURE IN SUBSTANCE FROM THE PRESENT ALLIED POSITION. IN DISTINCTION TO THE LANGUAGE PROPOSED IN PARA 10

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OF VIENNA 9720, THE PRESENT FORMULATION BREAKS NO NEW GROUND. IT WAS ALREADY OBVIOUS FROM THE TREATMENT OF THIS POINT IN THE OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS THAT THE ALLIES WOULD BE WILLING TO DISCUSS THIS ISSUE FURTHER WITH THE EAST AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE PRESENT FORMULATION MERELY REWORDS THE POINT ALREADY MADE BY THE ALLIES IN THE OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS IN A SLIGHTLY MORE FORTHCOMING WAY.

6. AT THE SAME TIME, THE PROPOSED LANGUAGE IS A SMALL TACTICAL STEP TOWARDS ACKNOWLEDGING SOVIET HINTS IN SEVERAL BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS WITH ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES, THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT BE WILLING TO START DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THE OVERALL SUBJECT MATTER WITH THE TOPIC OF US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS, DEPARTING FROM THEIR OWN PROPOSAL THAT THE FORCES OF ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS BE CONSIDERED FROM THE OUTSET, PROVIDED THAT THE SOVIETS RECEIVED ADEQUATE ASSURANCE THAT A SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATION COVERING WESTERN EUROPEAN PARTICIPANTS WOULD ACTUALLY TAKE PLACE.

7. FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THE ALLIED TACTICAL INTEREST IN OBTAINING EASTERN AGREEMENT TO CONDUCT DETAILED NEGOTIATION ON THE GROUNDS OF THE ALLIED PROPOSAL RATHER THAN OF THE SOVIET ONE, THE FRG CONCEPT WOULD BE AN INEXPENSIVE WAY FOR THE ALLIES TO SIGNAL THAT THEY WOULD BE WILLING AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME IN THE NEGOTIATIONS TO DISCUSS WITH THE EAST THE FORMULATION OF AN ARTICLE IN A FIRST-PHASE AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD PROVIDE THAT A SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE HELD. IT WOULD SERVE TO INDICATE THAT THE ALLIES SERIOUSLY INTEND TO GO AHEAD WITH THE SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS IF THE FIRST IS SUCCESSFUL. A SMALL SIGNAL OF THIS KIND MADE PRIOR TO THE MID-DECEMBER BREAK IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT ENCOURAGE THE EAST TO MOVE FARTHER DURING THE BREAK IN DIRECTION OF NEGOTIATING ON THE BASIS OF THE ALLIED APPROACH. WE WOULD NOT ANTICIPATE ANY DIALOGUE WITH SOVIETS ON SPECIFICS OF THE SUBJECT UNTIL AFTER NEGOTIATIONS RECONVENE IN JAN. AS AN ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATION, GIVEN FRG INTEREST IN ASSURING A SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATION, WE BELIEVE IT MIGHT CAUSE US DIFFICULTIES TO ARGUE FOR DELETION OF LANGUAGE AT THIS POINT.

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8. ACTION REQUESTED: REQUEST APPROVAL BY OPENING OF BUSINESS LOCAL TIME DECEMBER 10 OF A POINT FOR INCLUSION IN DEC 11 PLENARY PRESENTATION ALONG LINES OF FRG FORMULA, WHICH FOR THE SAKE OF PRECISION MIGHT BE REDRAFTED AS FOLLOWS: BEGIN TEXT: THE PRECISE FORMULATION OF THE PROVISION IN A FIRST-PHASE AGREEMENT PROVIDING FOR A SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATION AND THUS LINKING THE TWO PHASES CAN BE DISCUSSED AT AN APPROPRIATE POINT IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. END TEXT.HUMES

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